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ABSTRACT

An overview of the school building program in Chicago in the 1960's and the long-range school facilities program is followed by a discussion of various planning criteria. In considering the educational parks concept and its implementation in Chicago, emphasis is given to--(1) types of educational parks, (2) educational park design in relation to a city-wide system, (3) the dispersal concept of educational parks, (4) the phasing of educational parks, and (5) alternative forms that educational parks in Chicago could assume. The plan is given in a conceptual and schematic form, and specific sites or architectural design features are not suggested; however, several recommendations toward implementation are presented. (FS)

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CHICAGO
URBAN
LEAGUE
REPORT

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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Plan for a System of EDUCATIONAL PARKS IN CHICAGO

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PLAN FOR A SYSTEM OF EDUCATIONAL PARKS IN CHICAGO

Prepared by
RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
Chicago Urban League

Adopted by the Board of Directors,
Chicago Urban League, December 5, 1967.

Adopted by the Principals' Advisory Committee,
Chicago Urban League, November 14, 1967.

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November 9, 1967

MEMORANDUM

TO: Edwin C. Berry, Executive Director, Chicago Urban League

FROM: Harold M. Baron, Director, Research Department

SUBJECT: Plan for a System of Educational Parks in Chicago

I hereby transmit to you the Chicago Urban League Research Report, "Plan for a System of Educational Parks in Chicago." This document is a result of six months of study and consultation by the Research Department staff. On the basis of intensive analysis of educational planning in other cities and a review of past and present school building practices in Chicago, we have come to the considered conclusion that a system of educational parks offers the most viable and effective means to achieve our educational objectives of quality, integrated education.

The Urban League plan is offered, hopefully, as the first step in the development of a city-wide system of educational parks. By demonstrating the basic feasibility of a system of educational parks, this document makes possible the specific processes that would lead to definite policy on the part of the Board of Education. These processes should involve extensive community consultation and much more detailed planning. Therefore, our plan is meant as a beginning, not as a final word. The Chicago Urban League staff will further continue to study various aspects of educational park development. This study of educational parks shows what is possible. It is up to the concerned organizations, Negro and white citizens, and above all the Board of Education to make what is possible and necessary to the health of the city a reality.

This plan has been drawn up on a conceptual and schematic form. We do not suggest specific sites or specific architectural design features. Given the complexity of Chicago, our recommendations, of necessity, are presented in a fairly abstract manner. Nevertheless, we have very carefully weighed many concrete matters. The site location and design features are related to what we consider the best elements in the Chicago Comprehensive Plan. Detailed study of the existing school facilities, and the problems of educational organization and instruction have gone into shaping of our ideas. The final result is a plan which is both economically and socially feasible.

Walter Stafford and Sanford Sherizen of our Research staff have had the major responsibility for the production of this document. This team has combined the skills of a demographer and an educational sociologist. Last February, they added to their knowledge by making a tour of several cities in the East to consult with educational planners and to review the most current work on educational parks.

Mrs. Sylvia Meek, Educational Director of the Philadelphia Urban League, has been of great assistance with ideas, inspiration and constant consultation. Others who have graciously shared their ideas and time with our staff include: Dr. Max Wolff and Dr. Annie Stein, Center for Urban Education, New York; Mr. Paul Davidoff, Department of Urban Planning, Hunter College, New York; Mr. Bernard Berkin, formerly of the United States Civil Rights Commission; Mr. David Rusk and Miss Debbie Lewis, Washington Urban League; Mr. Robert Nash, A.I.A., Washington, D. C.; Mr. Meyer Weinberg, Editor, Integrated Education; Mr. David Sine, Syracuse Board of Education; and Dr. Thomas Reiner, Department of Regional Science, University of Pennsylvania. We are grateful for their help.

HMB:ee
Attachment

STATUS OF SEGREGATION IN THE CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The Chicago public school system has long been in a state of crisis. It has physically and socially isolated Negro pupils and provided them with an inferior quality of education. These processes have been instrumental in perpetuating, if not intensifying, the second-class status of Negro citizens. White pupils have likewise suffered since their education has been only slightly better than that of Negro pupils. If the past practives are continued and there are no massive innovations, the danger remains that the school system will continue to operate as an instrument of racial oppression.

Within any big organization, small or minor innovations tend to become lost in the basic on-going operations in such a way that there is little or no real resultant change. The Chicago school system, with over 30,000 employees and serving over half a million students, has tremendous inertia and will require a great force to change its course. It is within the framework of these conditions that this report considers the type of school plant developments which could adequately meet the crisis confronting the Chicago school system. This report is based on the concept that major sweeping changes are immediately required, and such changes cannot be accomplished by the present piecemeal approach to educational planning. As matters presently stand, the Board of Education's haphazard development of facilities cannot be used as important inputs to city planning. Therefore, schools have been considered, both by educational administrators and city planners, as auxilary services which are provided after all the major planning decisions have been independently determined.

A unified approach to educational planning, capital development and utilization is needed. Only through such comprehensive planning can the development of educational facilities be viewed in a systematic way and become a major independent input in city and metropolitan planning. Thereby, individual educational decisions can be related to larger planning goals, and other planning elements such as land-usage patterns and transportation networks can likewise be related to the objectives of the school system.

The crisis in Chicago education is exemplified by its segregated schools. Racial isolation is a major problem in all American school systems. Chicago, however, stands out as an extreme case. By reanalyzing data from the recent United States Civil Rights Commission Report on racial isolation,[1] it has been found that the racial patterns within the Chicago school system resemble the pattern in southern cities more than that of northern cities (cf., Chart I). With the sole exception of Gary, Indiana, no other major northern city has a school system as segregated as Chicago's. A specific example of this is the percentage of Negroes enrolled in virtually segregated schools, 90-100 percent Negro. Nearly 90 percent of the Negro pupils in Chicago attend segregated schools. By this measure, Negro pupil segregation is over three-fourths higher in Chicago than the median figure of 49 percent for all other northern cities (cf., Chart I). The extent of school segregation in Chicago is greater than that in border cities and approaches that of southern cities.

The greater degree of Chicago school segregation, as compared to other northern cities, is not solely attributable to the pervasive housing segregation. In other northern cities with a comparable degree of residential segregation, the racial isolation level is not as high as in Chicago.[2] Stated differently, if the relationship between school segregation and housing segregation that holds in the rest of the North held for Chicago, there would be less school segregation in this city.

One of the primary reasons for such a high level of school segregation was the past policies and practices of the Chicago Board of Education. The school building program of recent years was of particular significance. In the past 14 years, the Board of Education has invested approximately $360 million in additions and new facilities. While this was a significant economic cost, a higher social cost resulted. An analysis of the School Board's own figures reveals that during the latter phase of the building program pupil segregation increased.[3]

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[1] United States Civil Rights Commission Report, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (1967) pp. 4-5

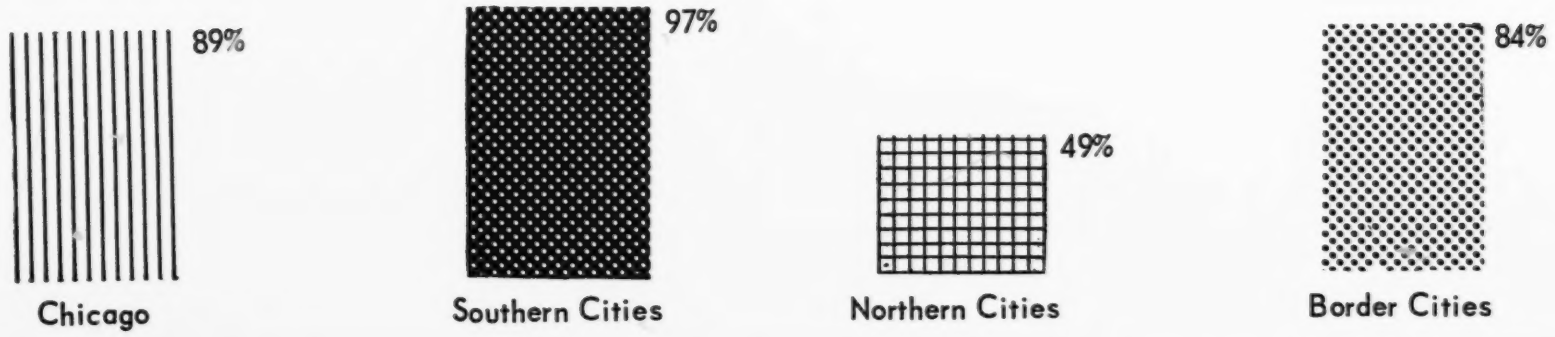
[2] This paragraph is based on measurements of residential segregation in Karl and Alma Taeuber, Negroes in Cities (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965).

[3] Chicago Urban League Research Report, Racial Segregation in the Chicago Public Schools, 1965-1966; Henri Theil and Anthony J. Finizza, An Informational Approach to the Measurements of Racial Segregation of Schools (Chicago: Department of Economics and Graduate School of Business, University of Chicago), private distribution.

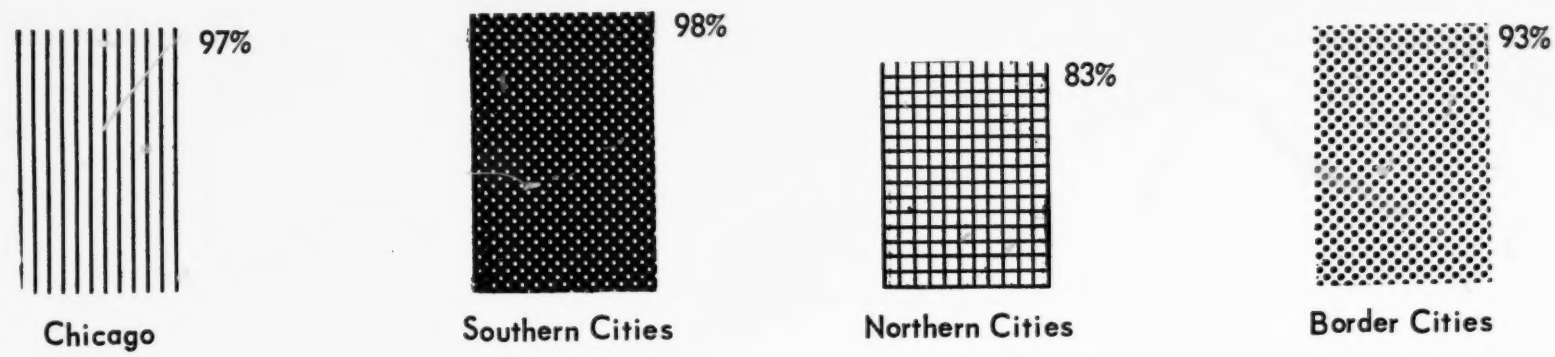
Chart I

EXTENT OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN 75 SCHOOL SYSTEMS*

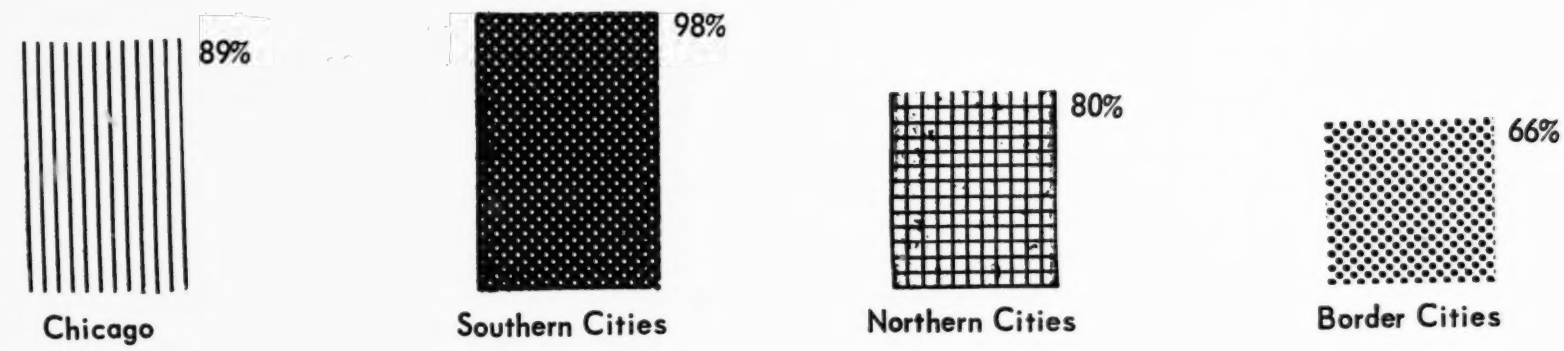
Median percentage of negroes in 90 - 100 percent negro schools



Median percentage of negroes in majority negro schools



Median percentage of whites in 90 - 100 percent white schools



*Percentages shown in the original table were for 1965-66 school year, except for Seattle, Wash. (1964-65), Los Angeles, Calif. (1963-64) and Cleveland, Ohio (1962-63).

SOURCE: United States Civil Rights Commission, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, (1967) Table 1 --Extent of Elementary School Segregation in 75 School Systems, pp. 4-5.

Section I

THE BUILDING PROGRAM IN THE EARLY SIXTIES

In the early 1960's, a major public campaign exposed the segregated and inadequate education that existed in Chicago. Double shift schedules and overcrowded classrooms in Negro schools, as opposed to the under-utilized space in white schools, were then the most tangible manifestations of the school system's inequities. The critics of the Board of Education concentrated upon this aspect of the dual system of unequal education.

At that time, the Chicago Board of Education, if it had so desired, had a unique opportunity to reduce segregation in the schools. Since the preponderance of overcrowding was in Negro schools, new buildings located outside of the Negro areas and changes in school attendance boundaries could have significantly decreased racial isolation.

Instead of pursuing a policy of pupil integration, the Board of Education undertook a crash program to increase the number of classrooms in Negro neighborhoods. This procedure had the objective of removing the particular point of contention concerning double shifts and overcrowding. With this objective, all available means were used to increase the number of ghetto classrooms. Elementary school building schedules were accelerated, mobile units were purchased in large numbers, and vacated commercial facilities were converted into schools.

The effect of this hasty building program was contrary to principles of sound education and planning. No comprehensive planning framework existed for the determination of size, location, and utilization of each school. All other priorities were subordinated to the goal of building enough schools in Negro areas to stop the increasing pressure for school integration. Considerations of population shifts, land-usage change, and educational innovations were ignored. Thus, the selection of ghetto sites for moderate-sized schools became an important factor in promoting racial separation.

In 1962, the Chicago Board of Education's budget provided for approximately 75 building sites. Of these, about two-thirds were located in the Negro ghetto. Only 10 percent of the schools were located so that they could possibly have an integrated student body. In 1963 the situation deteriorated even further. Approximately fifty building sites were provided for in the budget. Almost four-fifths of these were in Negro neighborhoods with only 10 percent possibly being integrated.[4]

TABLE I: CHANGES IN THE NUMBER OF CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOL BUILDINGS

1960 - 1966

	1960	1966	NET CHANGE
Regular Elementary Schools	372	413	41
Upper Grade Centers	9	27	18
General and Technical High Schools	43	46	3

SOURCE: Chicago Board of Education, Facts and Figures (1961), p.87; Chicago Board of Education, Facts and Figures (1966) p.127.

The emphasis of the Building Program in the early sixties was on construction of elementary school classrooms since overcrowding was greatest at this grade level. Elementary schools and upper grade centers increased at a more rapid rate during this period than did high schools (cf., Table I). In fact, some high school construction was deferred in favor of additional elementary school buildings.

[4] Statement of the Chicago Urban League submitted to the Senate Education Committee in support of House Bill 113, 73rd General Assembly, State of Illinois (1963).

The majority of the new units constructed were of moderate enrollment capacities. Elementary schools built from 1960 through 1966 ranged from 12 rooms (McDade School) to 56 rooms (Schiller School). If the present average classroom size of 33 pupils is used, capacities of new units ranged from 396 pupils to 1,848 pupils. The median number of rooms built in elementary units was 31, while for the branch schools the median figure was 7. On the average, the new buildings provided for 1,023 pupils in elementary schools and 231 pupils in branch schools.

The size of the new schools directly affected the number of pupils able to be enrolled and the geographical limits of the attendance area. Small schools built in a particular area allowed the Board of Education to draw from a racially homogeneous population, thereby predetermining the racial composition of each school. By choosing a large number of moderate-sized schools, the Board intensified the segregation in the system.

Upper grade centers, because of their large size and older school population, offered excellent opportunities for integration. A number of large-sized upper grade centers, strategically located, could have resulted in many children attending integrated schools for the last years of the elementary grades. Instead, upper grade centers were located in the confines of the ghetto so that they became the most segregated type of schools in the entire system.[5]

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[5] The Advisory Panel on Integration of the Public Schools, Report to the Board of Education, City of Chicago (The Hauser Report), (1964), pp.56,64-5; Chicago Urban League, Racial Segregation in the Public Schools, 1965-1966.

Section II

A LONG RANGE SCHOOL FACILITIES PROGRAM, 1967-1971

In the fall of 1966, the Chicago school administration released a $750 million five-year building plan, A Long Range School Facilities Program, 1967-1971 (hereafter referred to as the building plan). Many groups and persons had hoped that the building plan would signal new and imaginative approaches to alleviating racial segregation. The Citizens' School Committee in particular made a detailed analysis of the building plan and urged that it be shelved. The current status of the building plan is ambiguous as it has been withdrawn for study and consultants are working on it. In spite of its unclear status, the building plan deserves analysis because it is still pending, and most importantly, because it reflects on-going, day-to-day operations of the Board of Education in the development of school buildings and sites.

The recently released "Redmond Plan"[6] on integration sets forward guide-lines that are in contradiction to the building plan for 1967-1971. For example, the consultants for the Redmond Plan recommended that five educational parks be built in the next 8 to 10 years. In the building plan, however, the educational parks are only mentioned in terms of a possible future feasibility study. As the Redmond Plan indicates, educational parks and magnet schools are priorities. If this is the case, should the construction of more segregated neighborhood schools, as recommended in the building plan, be allowed? The consultants to the Redmond Plan gave the answer to this question without equivocation:

> "No further educational building in Negro segregated areas should be undertaken except when space is unavailable on an integrated basis. This latter is an unlikely possibility in any event as the use of the (educational) parks will open up even more than adequate space in Negro areas."[7]

The following section of this report will analyze the proposed building plan for 1967-1971. This analysis will serve two purposes, (1) it will illustrate how certain decisions in the proposed plan do not differ significantly from those building decisions in the early 1960's, and (2) it will show how the result of this building plan will be to perpetuate segregated schools.

Two major categories of analysis will be used in examining the proposed building plan: (1) the planning framework by which priorities are determined, and (2) the use of the site and enrollment criteria.

Planning Framework

The term "planning framework," as used in this paper, means the assumptions which underlie that structure of a plan. An adequate planning framework should begin with a measurement and evaluation of existing resources, needs, and problems. On the basis of this information, priorities would be developed, and planning decisions and basic policy recommendations made.

The planning framework of the Board of Education Building Plan is virtually useless, especially for purposes of integration. There is a minimum of concern with projected changes in land-usage patterns; population projections by race are omitted from the building plan; and the present and future transportation network is not considered. Its planning framework has one overriding priority--schools will be where overcrowded facilities exist. As long as there is residential segregation, this would of necessity mean continuing school segregation.

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[6] Chicago Board of Education, Increasing Desegregation of Faculties, Students and Vocational Educational Programs (1967).

[7] Ibid, p.B29.

Land-usage patterns relate directly to future population density, racial composition, neighborhood stability, and educational requirements. Future land-usage patterns in the areas considered for school development will be important determinants of the possibilities for school integration. Yet, no mention is made in the building plan of the land development plans for the areas proposed for new schools. Some of the proposed areas would be in model cities areas, rehabilitation and renewal areas. These developments will obviously create population changes which will affect future school enrollments.

A basic planning requirement for future integration is school enrollment projections by race. Total pupil population in existing school districts were the basic units of measurement in the building plan. Future enrollment projections by race were not given. Further, projections were not made outside of the boundaries of the existing school districts and this, thereby, restricted the planning of alternative attendance boundaries in the future.

Information on the relationship between educational planning and transportation usage was completely omitted from the building plan. Such information would give important insights into future land-usage patterns and linkages between the various areas of the city in the future. Such information would also provide a more flexible mode of viewing the city as a single unit for development rather than as a series of diverse neighborhoods to be kept separated.

Site and Enrollment Criteria

The site location and the enrollment limits of schools are important elements in educational planning. The proposed use of sites and enrollment in the building plan for 1967-1971 would operate to continue the existing segregation of pupils and buildings.

The moderate limits placed upon the enrollment capacities of schools to be built clearly favor a continuation of the existing neighborhood school system which draws pupils from racially homogeneous areas. Enrollments of approximately 2,000 in the high school and approximately 1,300 at the elementary level are given as the limits on capacity, and no rationale, other than "historical reasons," is offered for the continuation of these limits. The building plan, in effect, calls for a continuation of the existing pattern of attendance units "without altering the reliance on the neighborhood school."[8]

TABLE II: THE NUMBER AND TYPES OF UNITS IN THE PROPOSED BUILDING PLAN FOR 1967-1971

	NEW	ADDITIONS
Elementary Schools	27	63
High Schools	12	13
Other Schools	7	3

SOURCE: Chicago Board of Education, A Long Range School Facilities Program, passim.

The criterion for elementary school construction in the building plan is, ". . . to build elementary schools wherever the pupils per available classrooms substantially exceed thirty-three . . ."[9] Since the majority of these crowded classrooms are in Negro neighborhoods, the use of this criterion can only lead to schools being built to contain Negro pupils within the ghetto.

A total of 79 additions are recommended. The majority of these proposed additions would be added to presently segregated schools. This fact, plus the emphasis upon building new schools in the highest populated areas, i.e., Negro areas, will certainly result in a further tightening of the segregated school pattern.

[8] Chicago Board of Education, A Long Range School Facilities Program, 1967-1971, p.2.

[9] Ibid., p.7.

Integration

In its introduction, A Long Range School Facilities Program states abstractly that integration would be considered as a development criterion, at least in the case of high schools. This general statement is in no way carried out in the concrete elements of the building plan. The use of the planning framework and site and enrollment criteria in the building plan has not been in the direction of integration. Further, the specific sites and the Comprehensive High School proposed in the plan will undoubtedly further contribute to planned segregation.

Without major changes in attendance boundaries, moderate-sized schools located in Negro neighborhoods can only result in segregation. The location of the suggested new schools in the proposed plan clearly indicates that integration is not an important consideration. An example is the elementary school proposed at 55th and Lowe which would have the effect of absorbing Negro students near the border of a changing area. No criteria are listed in support of each location site. Alternative sites are not proposed.

The only planning for integration proposed in A Long Range School Facilities Program is the Comprehensive High School. The best criticism of this kind of facility is given in the report itself:

> "In fairness, it should be stated that in the same manner that the Permissive Transfer Plan drew a predominant number of students of one race from a high school, thus influencing the degree of racial balance, the Comprehensive High School could do likewise."

While school planning could feasibly use concepts similar to the Comprehensive High School to achieve integration, the choice of schools selected by the building plan and the limited nature of the "career development" section do not lend themselves toward this end. The Comprehensive High School, as proposed, could easily result in a further segregation of existing schools or the creation of an all-Negro "career development" section of other schools.

Conclusion

The outlook of A Long Range School Facilities Program, 1967-1971, is to continue the past practices which have promoted racial segregation. When the basic planning elements of the 1967-1971 building plan are compared with those that were operative during the period 1960 through 1966 (cf., Table III), in five major practices there was a fundamental similarity. The implication is that the implementation of A Long Range School Facilities Program would result in the same kind of tightening of racial segregation that occurred in the first part of the decade. It is hoped that in the light of the policy goals of the Redmond Plan, the Chicago Board of Education will not continue in this direction.

TABLE III: COMPARISON OF CHICAGO BOARD OF EDUCATION'S BUILDING PRACTICES FROM 1960-1966 WITH THE PROPOSED BUILDING PLAN FROM 1967-1971

	1960-1966	1967-1971	COMMENTS
1. A large number of moderate enrollment schools were planned.	Yes	Yes	No Change
2. Sites selected for new schools had potential for integration.	No	Very Few	Nearly No Change
3. Planning framework was fully articulated to allow consideration of population and land-usage trends.	No	No	No Change
4. Decisions were made with the full participation of the community.	No	No	No Change
5. Primary location criteria were sites of existing overcrowding (usually Negro areas).	Yes	Yes	No Change

Section III

PLANNING CRITERIA

The Planning Process

While the first two sections of this report have dwelt upon the inadequacies of past and pending building programs of the Board of Education, no question exists that there is a great need for a major building program at this time. Since school buildings are so costly and cannot be moved from one location to another, mistakes in planning become permanent monuments. Therefore, a major building program should not be instituted at this time without a clear and concise planning framework.

Planning is the formalized process for reaching decisions on alternative values and goals. Therefore, in proposing a massive plan for educational development, it is important for the Chicago Urban League and all other participants to clarify their own objectives in this area.

For the purposes of this clarification, the reader is reminded that the Chicago Urban League is an interracial social welfare and social planning agency. Its overall goals are to wipe out all racial barriers and upgrade the status of the Negro community. The League has long held to the view--now generally accepted by most leading urban thinkers--that racism is the number one urban problem in America. Employment, housing, and education are the major areas in which this problem is manifest. In education, the League's goals are two-fold: 1) Integration, which involves the breaking down of geographic and social barriers that have isolated Negroes; the further breaking down of the social processes which relegate Negro children to an inferior status; and the creation of educational situations which promote the maximum chance for substantial numbers of Negro and white children to learn together in an atmosphere of self-respect and pride; and 2) Quality Education, which involves the attainment of educational results, regardless of race or class, which meet the requirements of the modern urban society and its changing socio-economic structure.

Criteria for a Quality Integrated Educational System

Integration and quality education are goals toward which the Chicago school system must aim all of its major planning decisions. The following planning objectives and implementation criteria are the realistic means by which these goals can be reached. The planning objectives and implementation criteria, therefore, provided standards by which any building plan can be evaluated.

Planning Objectives

A. Heterogeneity - Racial, class and ethnic heterogeneity should result from planning decisions on schools. Public schools should be representative of the cultural pluralism of society at large. The implementation of this objective is dependent upon the sizes of enrollment, the site location of schools, the areas of attendance units, other pupil distribution devices, and programs of instruction which recognize the representative styles of the various groups.

   The implementation for heterogeneity, thus, has three steps: (1) location of school facilities which are designed to foster integrated and economically diversified student bodies; (2) determination of the best composition of each school and methods of achieving such distribution; and (3) development of educational programs which stress and enforce the strengths of a culturally diverse society.

B. Large Size Capacity for Facility - Large enrollment capacities enhance the chances for desegregation and heterogeneity since it allows pupil enrollment from more diverse geographical areas. Large

enrollment and heterogeneity of pupil population need not result in the individual child being neglected. Provisions within the design of the large educational facility can provide for several component individual schools. Both for purposes of administrative necessity and instructional excellence, each large facility can be subdivided into a number of schools. These "schools within a school" can provide the maximum conditions for individualized types of pupil instruction.

Large size is important for economic reasons as well as educational reasons. A greater unit return for money expended than is now realized is possible with increased size enrollment. Specialized structures such as auditoriums, audio-visual studios and laboratories are usually in use only a limited number of hours per day. With a large enrollment, almost constant use can be made of these structures. Not only is this economical in usage terms, but greater and more specialized facilities could be available at the cost now necessary for many of the more general structures of small neighborhood schools.

In large facilities, savings can also result from decreased costs in construction. Among these are the large base for contractor's overhead and savings from certain construction efficiencies in centralization of equipment, material and planning.

C. Comprehensiveness of Educational Instruction - The physical design of school facilities should allow for a maximization of creative approaches to education and comprehensiveness of instruction. Size restrictions in particular have interferred with these conditions in many schools. New forms of pupil grouping and specialized programs of instruction are often not possible in the limited facilities of the small neighborhood school. Changes in current physical design are required for new forms of instruction such as team teaching, computer-based learning, and televised instruction.

D. Administrative Decentralization - Decentralization of administrative decision-making and authority should result in increased opportunities for creative educational practices by principals and teachers. A major restriction on change in urban education is a centralized bureaucracy which over-controls day-to-day decisions and stifles creativity on the part of teachers and principals. Such a bureaucracy has tended to be isolated from the local community and its needs. Parental complaints are handled in routine fashion, often without correction of the problem felt by the parent.

Some functions properly belong in a central office. Many now determined by a downtown office should be reallocated to the local school and classroom where education actually takes place. A reallocation of resources to these professionals in the schools can allow for increased responsiveness to local communities and can serve for greater acceptance for educational innovations by community leaders.

In the recent reorganization plan for the Board of Education done by Booz-Allen and Hamilton, administrative decentralization was a central concern. The recent formation of three new administrative areas for the entire city was a result of this plan. While the Board is now striving for decentralization, a major obstacle to this goal is the size and organization of existing neighborhood schools. The large number of existing small capacity neighborhood schools make such coordination difficult.

Larger sized facilities are most feasible for purposes of administrative decentralization. The complexity of such large-sized facilities requires great local coordination of functions with minimal control from a central downtown office. At the same time, coordination becomes possible because of the existing organization of facilities and staff and closeness to the local community. The presence of a large number of teachers in close proximity would open up new possibilities for educational innovations. Teaching assignments could be organized at each grade level and subject speciality so that teacher talent pools could work as a team in tailoring curriculum and teaching methods to the needs of their own school and community. New forms of classroom teaching could be initiated and specialists could then evaluate the programs in their own schools.

Implementation Criteria

There are two important criteria for the effective implementation of the planning objectives stated above. The implementation criteria are:

A. Timing - An important factor in implementation is the total time necessary for planning and development. Successful changes can be instituted in a relatively short period of time. Given the fundamentally inadequate nature of ghetto education today, time is of the essence. Large-scale changes in a short period of time could result in adjustments in every inadequate area of the Board of Education's operation. The creation of a sufficiently new physical and organizational environment could thus provide the impetus to a much needed restructuring of urban education in Chicago.

B. Financing - The amount of money necessary for large-scale school construction in Chicago will be high and current levels of expenditure are inadequate. However, the fundamental financial decisions should be made on the basis that the children of Chicago deserve a first-rate education.

   Once this criterion is established, some important factors in cost decisions are: (1) a plan for new, large-sized school buildings can cost the same as a program of replacements and additions of moderate-sized neighborhood schools; (2) existing facilities can either be used as part of a redevelopment of schools or can be sold for noneducational uses; (3) considerable federal funds will possibly be available in the near future for construction purposes; and (4) school redevelopment can have economic pay-offs as focal points for general community development. (For estimates on total costs see Appendix III.)

Conclusion

This section has provided planning objectives and implementation criteria which should become basic to any building programs undertaken by the Board of Education. Massiveness and planning are key words to describe the type of plan necessary for an effective rebuilding of the Chicago public schools. Effective, large-scale planning can maximize the usefulness of existing school facilities.

Section IV

EDUCATIONAL PARKS

The concept of educational parks is the most specific proposal being discussed today which meets the planning objectives listed in the previous section. In the last few years there has been a growing excitement on the part of civil rights, educational leaders, business, labor and concerned lay people with the possibilities of this new approach to the problem of quality education in an integrated setting.

Educational parks are multi-campus clusters of educational facilities capable of containing a heterogeneous student body of 10,000 to 20,000 pupils. They are uniquely suited to maximize a comprehensive educational program due to their space allocation, their large student body, and their exceptional physical and personnel resources. Further, educational parks are the logical facilities for insuring the effectiveness of a decentralized school system. They are large enough to make decentralization possible, and yet, they can be organized in such a way as to be responsive to local needs.

The design ideas presented in the remainder of this report are based upon the present Chicago Public School district, which is coterminous with the city limits. Many of the more far-sighted experts now recommend the use of a more comprehensive planning area.

> "An essential part of the planning must deal with interdependent metropolitan planning, in schools as in other public service facilities. School districts can be redefined to include both suburban and city elements." [10]

A metropolitan focus is preferable since cities and suburbs have common educational needs. Accordingly, virtually all of the design concepts presented here are capable of being generalized to a metropolitan scale. Nevertheless, Chicago cannot afford to wait until metropolitan arrangements are made, and it should proceed with planning and development at once.

Types of Educational Parks

The typical educational park discussed in the literature is composed of a core facility which has centralized administrative offices and specialized facilities, a large number of elementary schools, a smaller number of junior high schools and a single high school.

One major advantage of such a grade structure is that it allows pupils from one large geographical area to remain on the same campus throughout their educational careers. This type of educational park, the pyramid organization, is illustrated in Plate I. The model is one suggested educational park for Philadelphis. The pyramid educational park is the basic design recommended in this study. The design variations are presented with the objective of phasing into a park that is fundamentally organized on this principle.

Various other compositions of educational parks are under consideration in different cities. The horizontal organization consists of schools of only one grade level. For example, Pittsburgh is planning a series of high school parks on this model. Another version of educational parks is the vertical type which is being considered in New York City. This consists of a single elementary school, a single junior high school, and a single high school.

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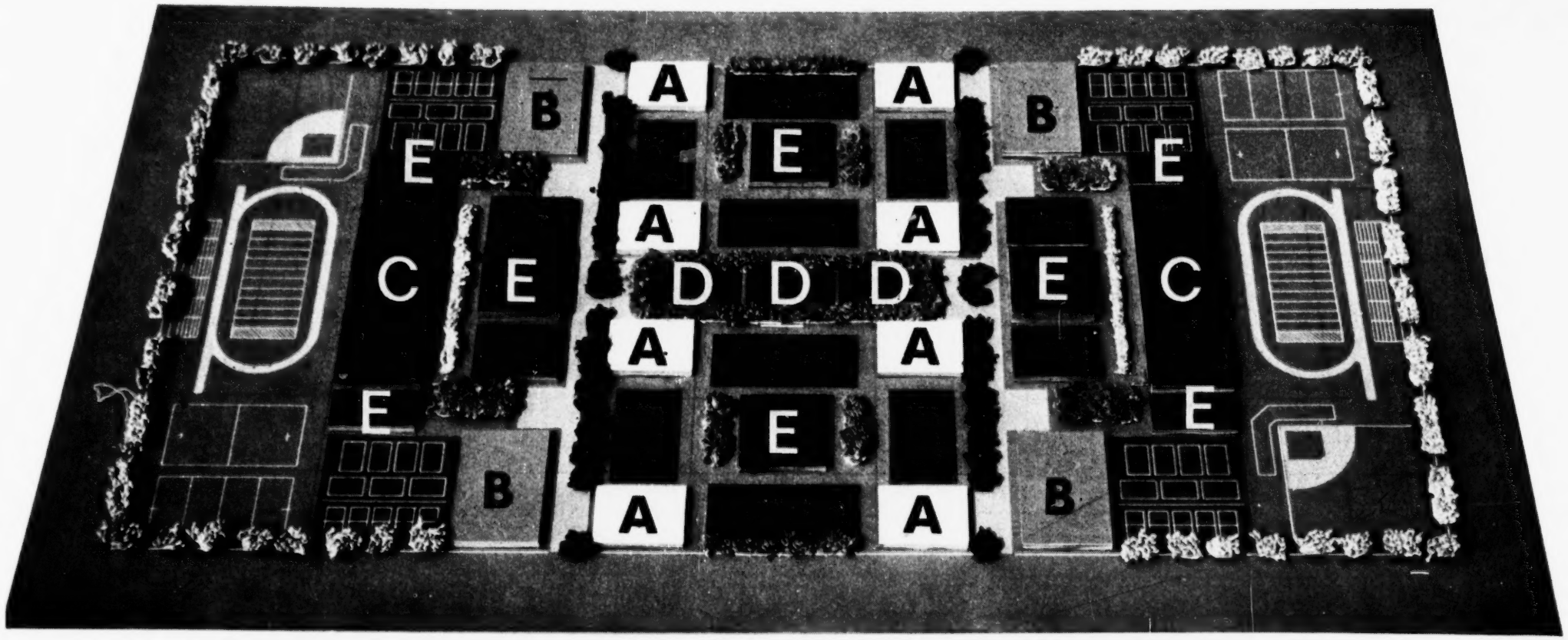
[10] Report of the White House Conference, To Fulfill These Rights (1966), p.6.



A. Primary Grade School

B. Middle Grade School

C. Senior High School

D. Administrative Suite

E. Core Facilities

Plate I: MODEL OF AN EDUCATIONAL PARK

Source: PHILADELPHIA AD HOC COMMITTEE FOR EDUCATIONAL PARKS

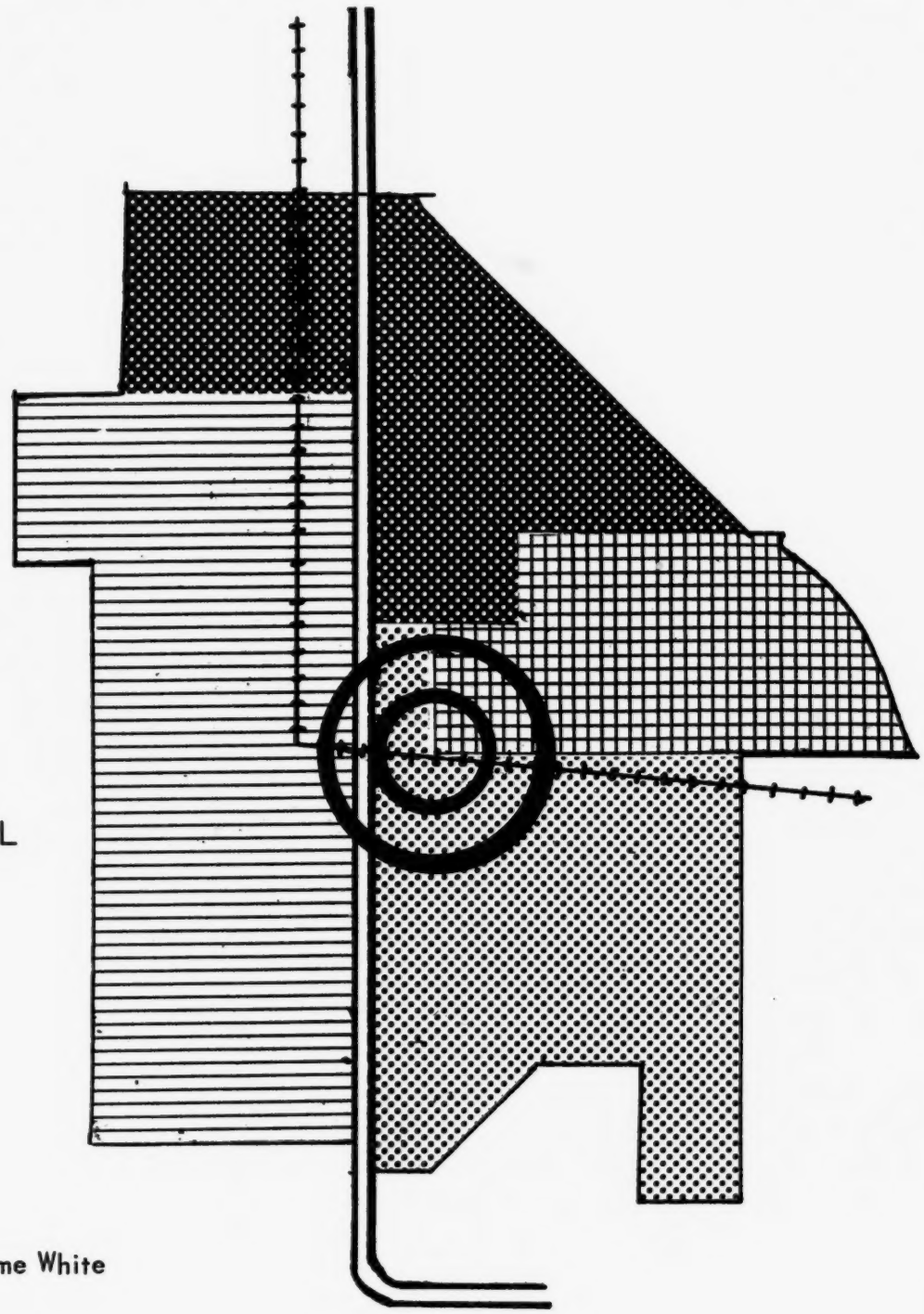


Plate II: PROTOTYPE LOCATION OF AN EDUCATIONAL PARK

Lower-Income White

Lower-Income Negro

Middle-Income White

Middle-Income Negro

Educational Park

Expressway

Rapid Transportation

Any educational park, if location is properly considered, can draw pupils together from neighborhoods with different class and racial compositions. This type of location is illustrated in Plate II by a schema which shows an educational park drawing upon neighborhoods that are diverse as to their class and racial characteristics. Each of the component schools in the educational park, regardless of its size, would have a heterogeneous student body coming from a number of neighborhoods. Detailed decisions on which type of educational park is best will be dependent on the overall structural development of the city. There might be variations on the basic pyramid design to meet specific needs in different areas of the city.

Design of Educational Parks

The development of educational parks, due to their size and internal organization, requires extensive planning. Such planning, while desirable for the design of any school building, is more necessary with the extensiveness of educational parks. The correctly planned educational park serves as a model of what is possible with imaginative and bold planning.

The various aspects of the planning of educational parks will be dealt with in the following section. The first aspect deals with the principles for location of a city-wide system of educational parks; two alternative design schemes are proposed. Neither of these designs is intended to indicate specific sites for educational parks, but are illustrations of the first phase in the process of development in an educational park system.

Design Concepts for a City-Wide System of Educational Parks

Radial Corridor Design of Educational Parks (Cf., Plate III) - The key to the Radial Corridor design is the existing and proposed metropolitan transportation system. The transportation network in Chicago can be equated to fingers--Radial Corridors--running from the Loop outward. The Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission (the regional planning agency) and the Chicago Department of Development and Planning have presented concepts which propose the major growth of the metropolitan region along the Radial Corridors. This design attempts to coincide with the future development plans for the Chicago metropolitan region.

Educational parks could be related to these rapid transportation networks and expressways which run through white and Negro areas. Available land near the major circulation networks and the use of air-rights over such lines would be ideal locations for educational parks.

Travel time for students becomes the key problem. Presently, travel time from the Loop to peripheral terminal points ranges from 20 to 34½ minutes on rapid transportation.[11] Use of the automobile takes relatively the same amount of time with some fluctuation between peak-hour and off-peak-hour trips. Bus trips are slower, but their time could be increased by developing park-ride facilities. These could be developed in strategic locations. Students could be picked up along a route to the educational park or taken to rapid transportation transfer points. Location of educational parks at key points along the transportation network could insure relatively accessible travel distances for most pupils in the city. Students could be assigned to schools based upon travel time from student's home to educational park. Special travel arrangements might be necessary for younger children such as special ride facilities, separate school entrances and exits, and special teacher and travel personnel.

One feature of this design requires special attention. Since the objective of heterogeneity specifies diversity of both race and class, a racially integrated school consisting of low-income whites and Negroes would be inadequate. Given the present geographic location of middle-income whites and lower-income Negro residential areas, these are the groups that would have the longest travel distances. Two design variations could be used to meet difficulties in travel for these groups:

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[11] Travel time maps are available from the Chicago Area Transportation Study.

(a) Developing educational parks in urban renewal areas close to expressways and rapid transportation. The lower-income Negro communities stretching linearly on the Dan Ryan and the Eisenhower corridors are both scheduled for extensive renewal. A substantial portion of these communities will be developed with middle-income housing units which will include whites. Educational parks could serve as physical focal points for part of the general redevelopment of these areas. Thereby, they would be used as tools in creating neighborhoods which have a race and class mixture.

(b) Due to the recent school construction, there exist a large number of schools which are relatively new. Proposed urban renewal in many communities, plus the building of educational parks, will leave some of these schools underutilized. Extended travel time for many students (especially Negro students) would mean that certain after-school functions--library work, special classes, etc.--could be developed in Supplemental Educational Centers. Some of the existing plants could be utilized as Centers. The Centers could also be utilized for adult education, counseling, community services, day nurseries and Head Start programs. (Cf., light circles in Plate III.)

Dispersal Concept of Educational Parks (Cf., Plate IV) - This concept attempts to take into consideration some of the problems found in the Radial Corridor design. Dispersal of educational parks within the city and on the periphery between the city and the suburbs would not limit the School Board to locations determined by rapid transportation. It would allow greater freedom of choice of location, primarily in choosing sites bridging white and Negro areas. The Dispersal Design Concept is not as rigid as the Radial Corridor Concept, and sites could be more related to land availability.

Although the dispersing of educational parks according to population density and land availability solves some of the problems of the more rigid Radial Corridor Concept, it has four obvious limitations. First, the concept is not as systematic as the Radial Corridor design. A major problem with previous building programs of the Board of Education was such a lack of systematic development. Second, if sites are chosen in response to population density, the tendency is to continue to segregate schools. Some educational parks might be of a higher percentage of one race than another. Third, choice of neutral sites between Negro and white communities would, in many instances, mean integrated schools of lower-income whites and Negroes only. Fourth, it is not as easy to assign pupils based on the most accessible travel time, i.e., the rapid transit system.

A mixture of the two designs would be necessary to deal with all of the complexities of land usage, residential segregation, educational requirements and transportation systems. The Radial Corridor Concept should be the major locational guide for educational parks. Some dispersal of sites might be necessary for purposes of integration or land-usage considerations.

The specific location of an educational park could serve to meet one or more of a number of other planning purposes. For instance, it could serve as a focal point for redevelopment in the ghetto; in other cases, it could function as a bridge between Negro and white areas or city and suburn.

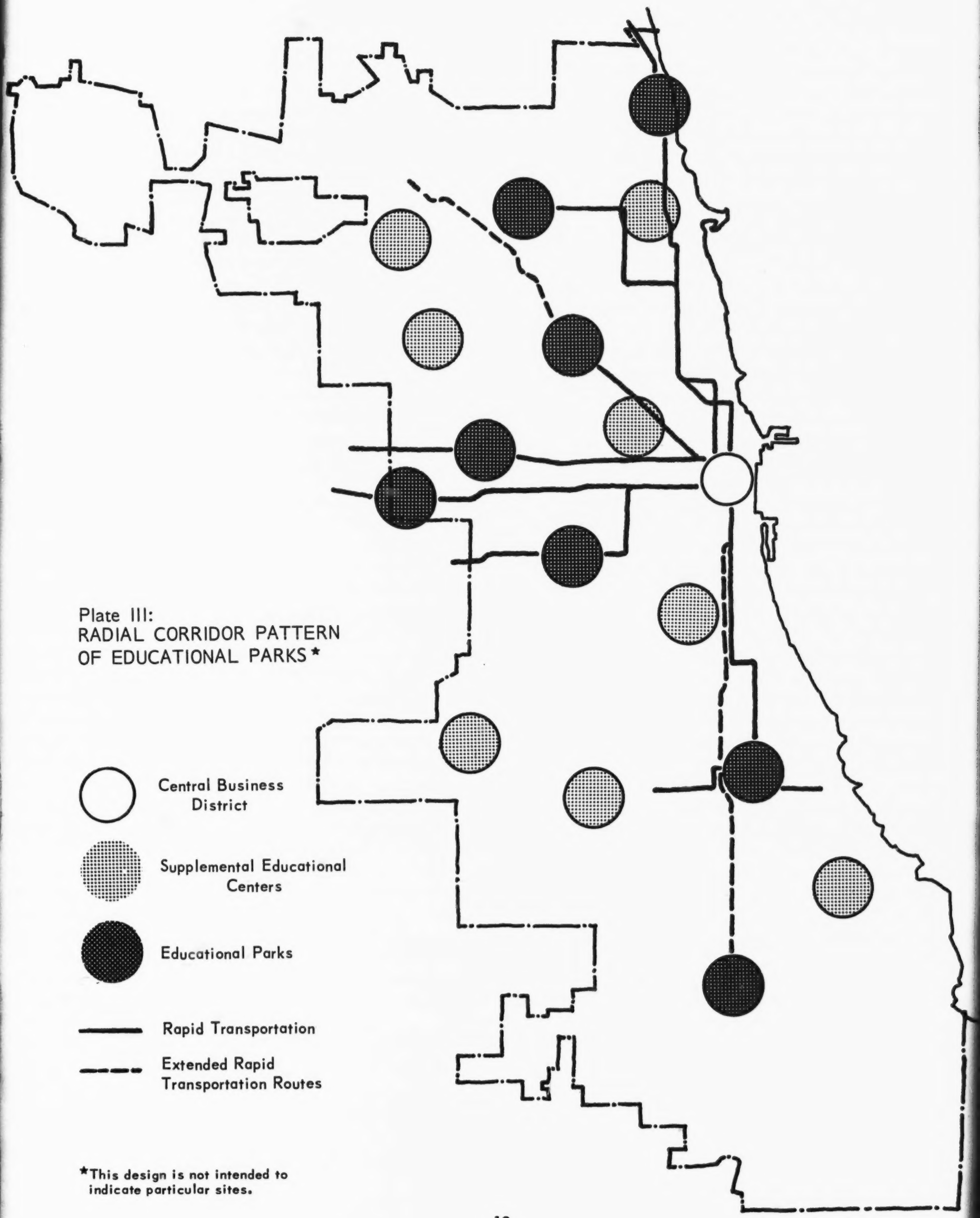

Plate III:
RADIAL CORRIDOR PATTERN
OF EDUCATIONAL PARKS*

*This design is not intended to indicate particular sites.

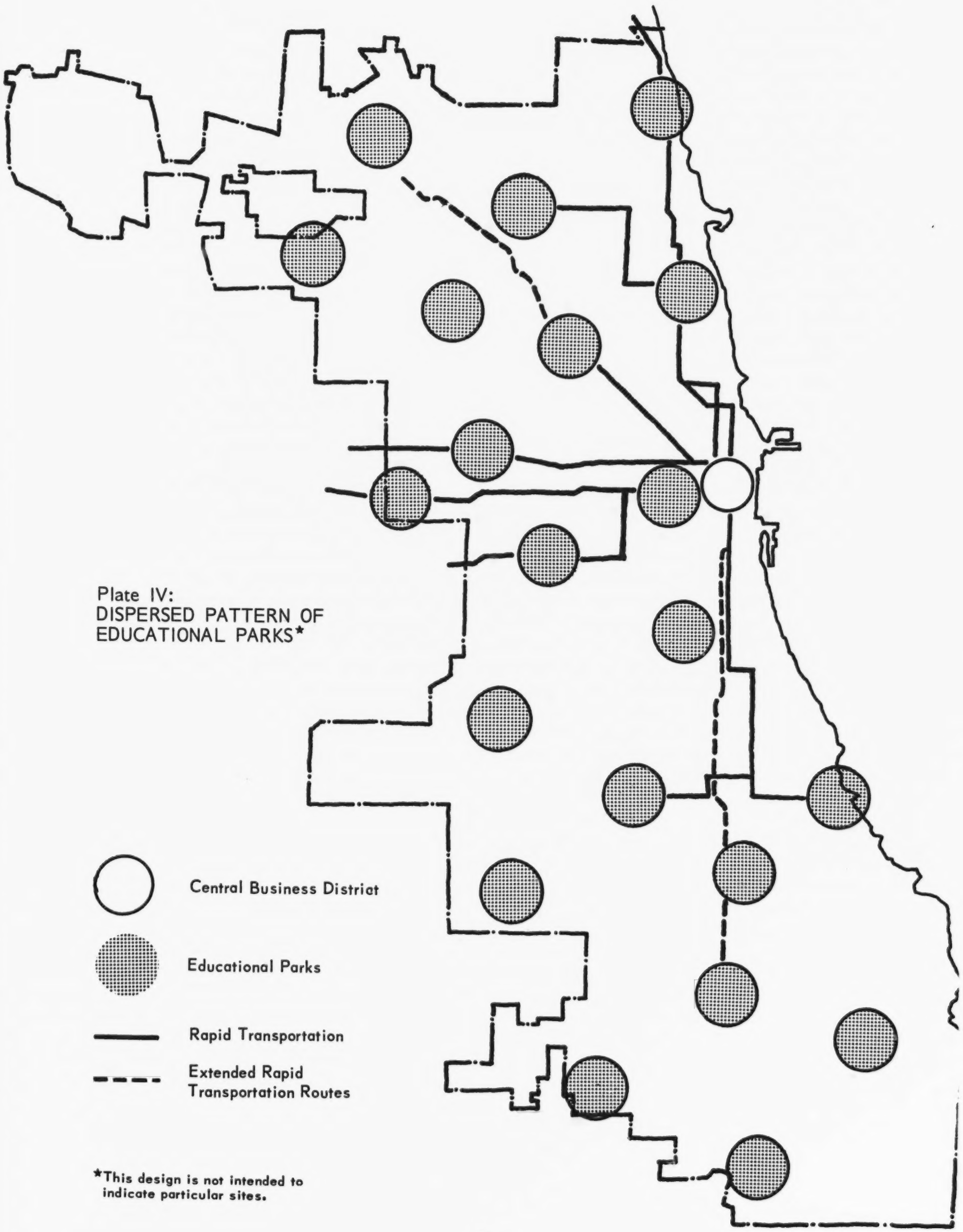

Plate IV:
DISPERSED PATTERN OF EDUCATIONAL PARKS*

*This design is not intended to indicate particular sites.

Site Selection and Development Proposals

Site selection for educational parks can be determined best on the basis of travel time for students related to present and projected land usages.[12] Population densities are subject to change in many communities due to the extensive redevelopment of the city proposed in the Comprehensive Plan. The anticipated changes in Chicago land usages dictate that school site selection cannot be done as it was done before. New attendance procedures can be developed, for example, by using flexible standards of travel time for the attendance at particular facilities.

Phasing of Educational Parks - Two major approaches can be taken to the physical development of specific educational parks. An entirely new facility can be built either on vacant sites of 50 to 100 acres or air-rights over expressways or rail yards.

A second approach, that of phasing, can be taken by starting with some existing school buildings and constructing additional facilities to create a large campus. The complete development of over 30 educational parks could take up to two decades if a system of totally new educational parks were developed on vacant or cleared sites. Obviously, some totally new campuses will have to be built, but extensive use of phasing the educational parks with redevelopment, extension of existing school facilities, etc., could considerably shorten the time period and would also lower costs. The models listed in the following pages suggest how phasing can be an important element in creating an educational park system in a relatively short period of time.

The large number of recently constructed school facilities in Chicago present unique problems for the development of a city-wide system of educational parks. Many existing facilities may be phased in as integral parts of an educational park in two major ways. First, educational parks can be built around the existing facility. The facility can be converted into a core facility containing the centralized services for the educational park or it can serve as one of the schools within the larger educational complex.

Second, during the phasing period of the construction of educational parks, existing facilities can be used. For example, existing high schools can be converted into large intermediate grade centers once its original student population is in the educational park. These facilities can also be converted into specialized learning centers, neighborhood service centers, or as Supplemental Educational Centers as described previously in the Radial Corridor Concept.

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[12] For an extensive discussion of site selection, cf., U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Educational Parks (1967); (esp. Paul Davidoff, "Analysis of the Feasibility of Establishing a System of Educational Parks in a Metropolitan Region"); see also the Corde Corporation, The Educational Park Report to the School District of Philadelphia (1967).

TABLE IV: SUMMARY TIMETABLE FOR PHASING AN EDUCATIONAL PARK

	CONSTRUCTION	ADMINISTRATION & ORGANIZATION
PHASE I:	Creation of core facility for administration and specialized functions.	Appointment of educational park administrative personnel and specialists; vesting of administrative authority in them; development of working relationships between community groups and individuals.
PHASE II:	Development of links between core facility and existing school facilities by use of transportation and specialized land-usages; construction of some new school facilities in proximity to core to create a campus; rehabilitating some of the schools most distant from the core into supplemental educational centers for preschool, after-school, and adult educational functions.	Determination of new attendance areas taking in a heterogeneous student population; reassignment of students to component schools so that each one has a heterogeneous student population; development of new instructional programs to maximize educational opportunities; creation of teacher groups at each grade level and for each subject matter.
PHASE III:	Complete construction of new schools and specialized facilities on the park campus; construction of auxiliary health, recreational and cultural facilities; phasing out of the older schools too distant to be part of the campus.	Further adaption of the instructional program to utilize specialized facilities within the educational park; evaluation of the effectiveness of the new instructional programs, organizational format and administrative procedures, revision of methods as indicated by evaluation.

Educational parks built in conjunction with existing facilities do not initially need to be physically connected. The first stage of development will be the creation of the core facility. The various other buildings of the educational park will be built around the core facility. As each new facility is built, those existing facilities which cannot be used as permanent features of the educational park will be phased out. The finished educational park will then be related in physical form, function, and facility.

The phasing-in of the physical facilities allows for the organizational development of the educational park even in the early stages of construction. The organizational and administrative aspects of a park need not await the completion of the campus. The administration of an educational park with an extensive and diverse student body could be instituted once the administrative and core facilities were created. With the linking of usable existing schools by transportation and/or specialized connectors, such as overpasses and parkways, the fundamental organizational elements of an educational park could become operational (cf., Table IV - Summary Timetable for Phasing an Educational Park).

Utilization of this proposal would allow a number of educational parks to be developed simultaneously in different areas of the city. This procedure would allow for a shorter timetable for completion of a city-wide system. Simultaneous development is feasible with modern techniques of construction and would be an economical approach to development.

ALTERNATIVES FOR DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PARKS

There are various forms that an educational park can assume. Once the location of each educational park as a part of a city-wide plan has been determined, specific implementation concepts will vary. In the following section, possible development features for educational park forms in Chicago will be outlined.

Educational Parks on Vacant or Cleared Sites - An ideal location for an educational park is on vacant or cleared sites of 50 to 100 acres near rapid transportation lines or expressways. Such sites exist in under-utilized industrial areas of the city, in large blocks of available vacant land (such as the site at 95th and Stony Island Avenue) and the air-rights over transportation routes. Other desirable locations would be in peripheral areas between the city and the suburbs. Such sites could be of great importance in the development of metropolitan education.

Development on a totally vacant or cleared site allows for maximum freedom of design of the educational park as is illustrated in the totally new park shown in Plate I. Vacant site location has limited feasibility due to the lack of large parcels of vacant land and the competing demand for cleared land. This type of location can, however, be one important aspect of a city-wide system of educational parks.

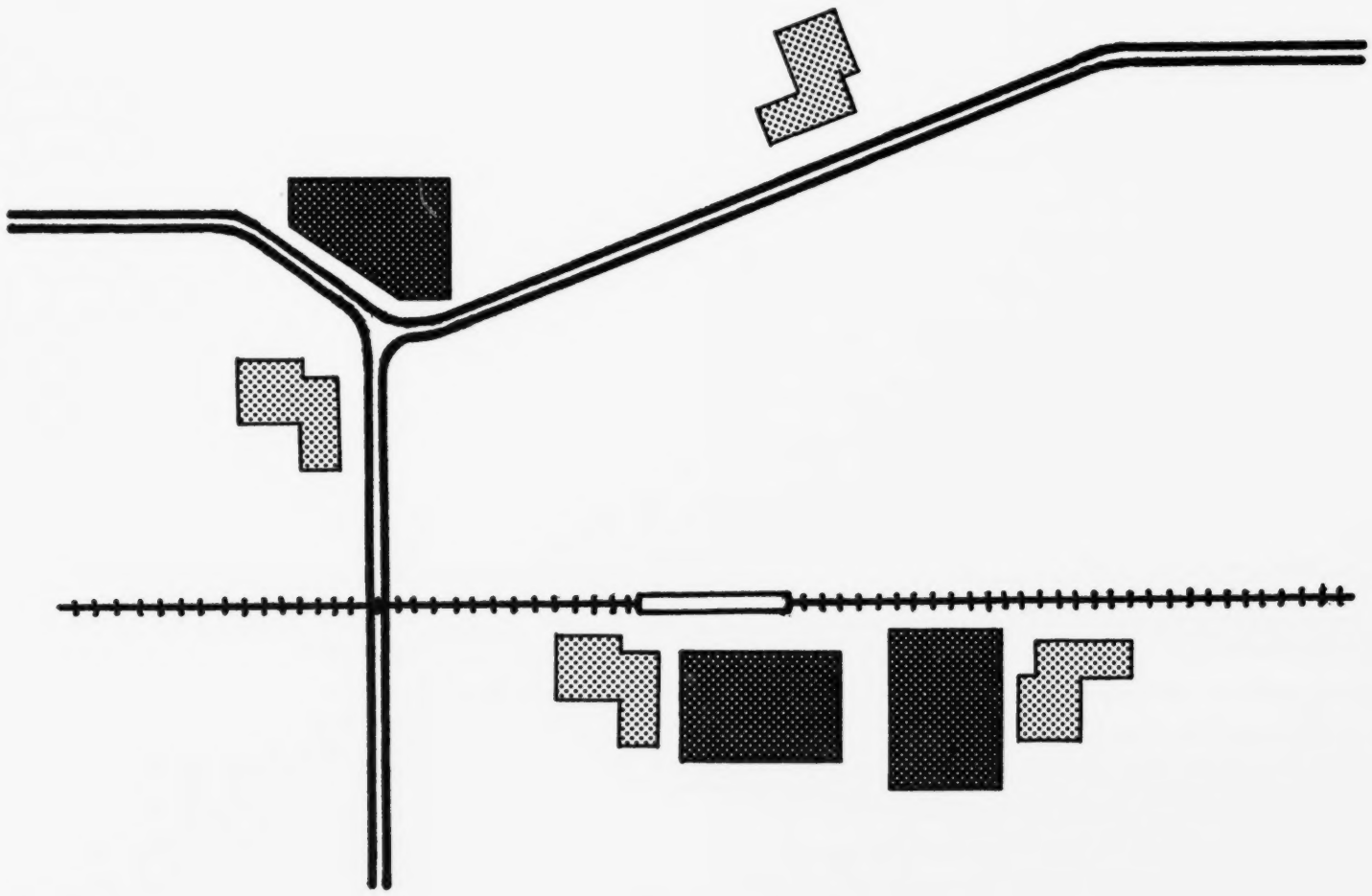
Corridor Related Educational Parks - This concept recognizes that the facilities of some existing schools are in close proximity to each other and are near transportation lines. In many areas of Chicago, these facilities exist on the same transportation lines or they are in some reasonable travel distance from each other.

Expansion of these facilities into an educational park would have the dual advantages of utilizing existing facilities and maximizing ease of transportation for pupils from the entire attendance area to any of the facilities in the educational park.

This design is illustrated in two various alternative ways in Plate V. At the bottom of the diagram is shown how existing schools and the expanded facilities necessary for a complete educational park can be connected with existing rapid transportation lines. The illustration at the top shows connection by an expressway. In both cases, location of the components of the educational park would be near entrances and exits of the transportation line, or a shuttle service to the entrances and exits could be developed.

Through development of a core physical plant and a reorganization of the attendance area, existing schools can (a) be utilized as a part of the educational park if they are in close proximity and/or (b) gradually be phased out as the new facilities are clustered around the core.

It should be stressed that a simple connecting of existing schools does not lead to a newly formed educational park. The essence of an educational park is an organizational structuring of facilities, faculties and functions into a unified educational complex. The necessary requirements for such structuring have been more fully discussed in the section on planning objectives.



Existing School Facilities

Expanded School Facilities
for an Educational Park

Expressway

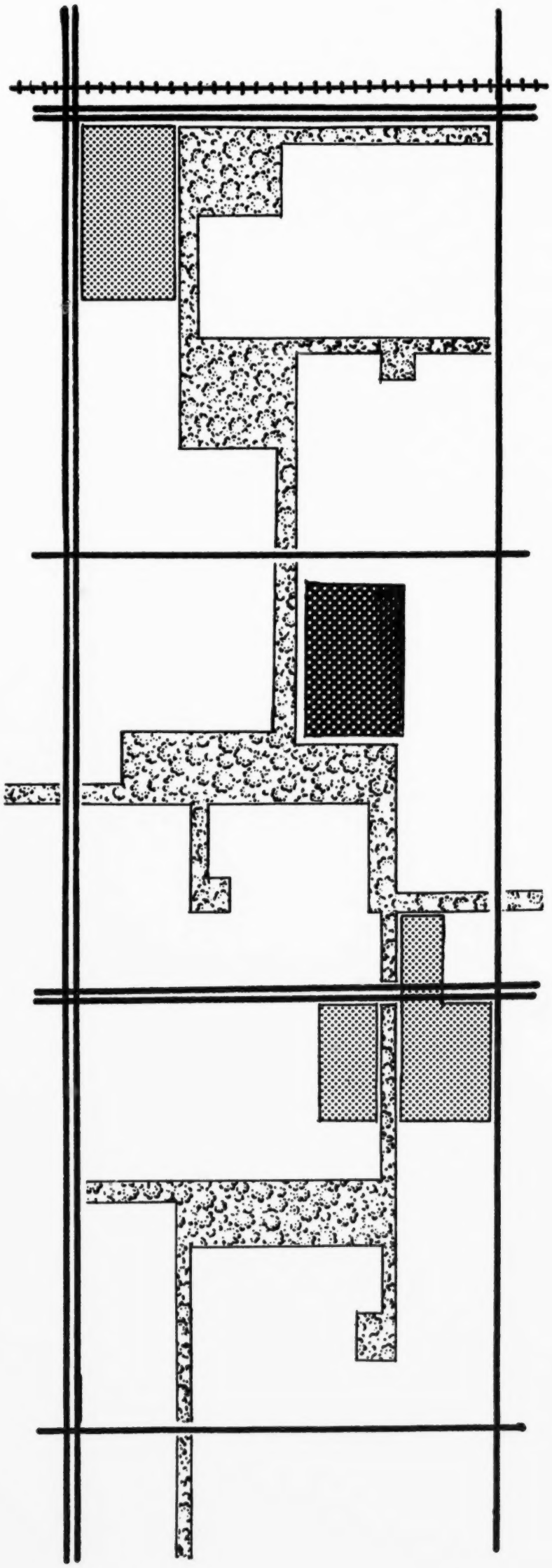
Rapid Transportation

Plate V: CORRIDOR RELATED
EDUCATIONAL PARK

School Park Principle - The Chicago Department of Development and Planning have presented in the Comprehensive Plan for Chicago a concept for school site selection.[13] This concept relates recreational park space with school buildings. Such a concept can be expanded to include locations for educational parks. Recreational park space can link existing schools and the expanded facilities necessary to complete an educational park. This is illustrated in Plate VI. Any schools which would be phased out as newer facilities if the educational park were developed could become recreational facilities in the park space.

Due to the limited amount of existing recreational park space in Chicago, a variation of this concept is of interest. A linear educational park could be extended along the air-rights over a transportation line. These air-rights could be utilized for school purposes as well as for new recreational park space.

[13] Department of Development and Planning, The Comprehensive Plan, City of Chicago (1966), p.47.



Existing School Facility

Major Park

Greenway

Playground

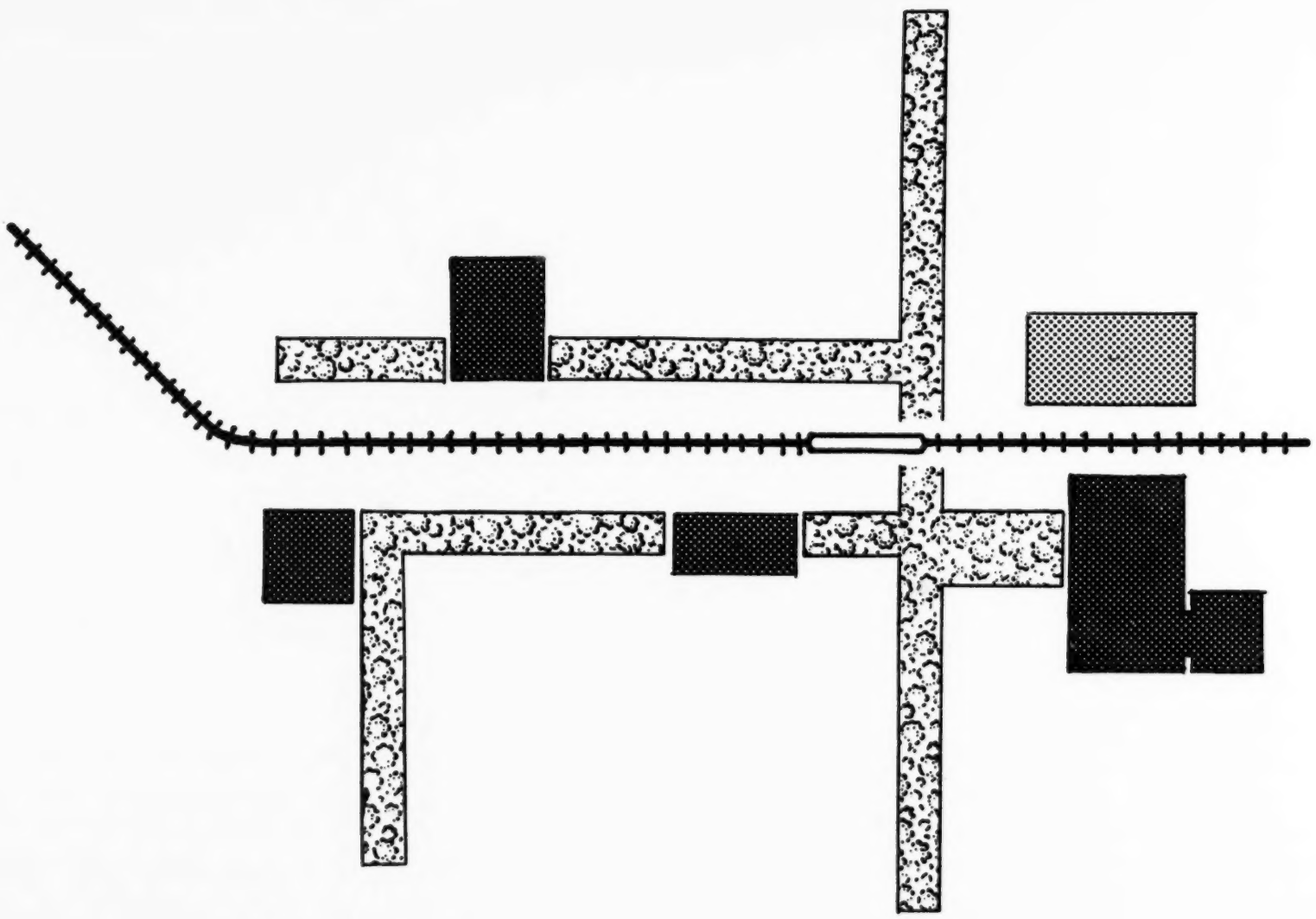
Expanded School Facilities For Educational Park

Major Arterials

Rapia Transportation

Plate VI:
SCHOOL PARK PRINCIPLE
FOR AN EDUCATIONAL PARK

Educational Parks on Commercially Redeveloped Sites - Chicago is replete with deteriorating commercial and light industrial strips in close proximity to rapid transportation or along arterial routes. In many instances, these continue unaltered for several blocks. The impending clearance and redevelopment of these deteriorating sections make them ideal locations for educational parks. In many such instances there are adjacent school plants. By adding new facilities and converting the commercial strips to park space, educational parks can be developed. The older schools could become neighborhood centers, assume some other function, or be demolished. The final form of the educational park would be linear, stretching for several blocks either on both or one side of the rapid transportation system or major artery (cf., Plate VII).



Existing School Facility

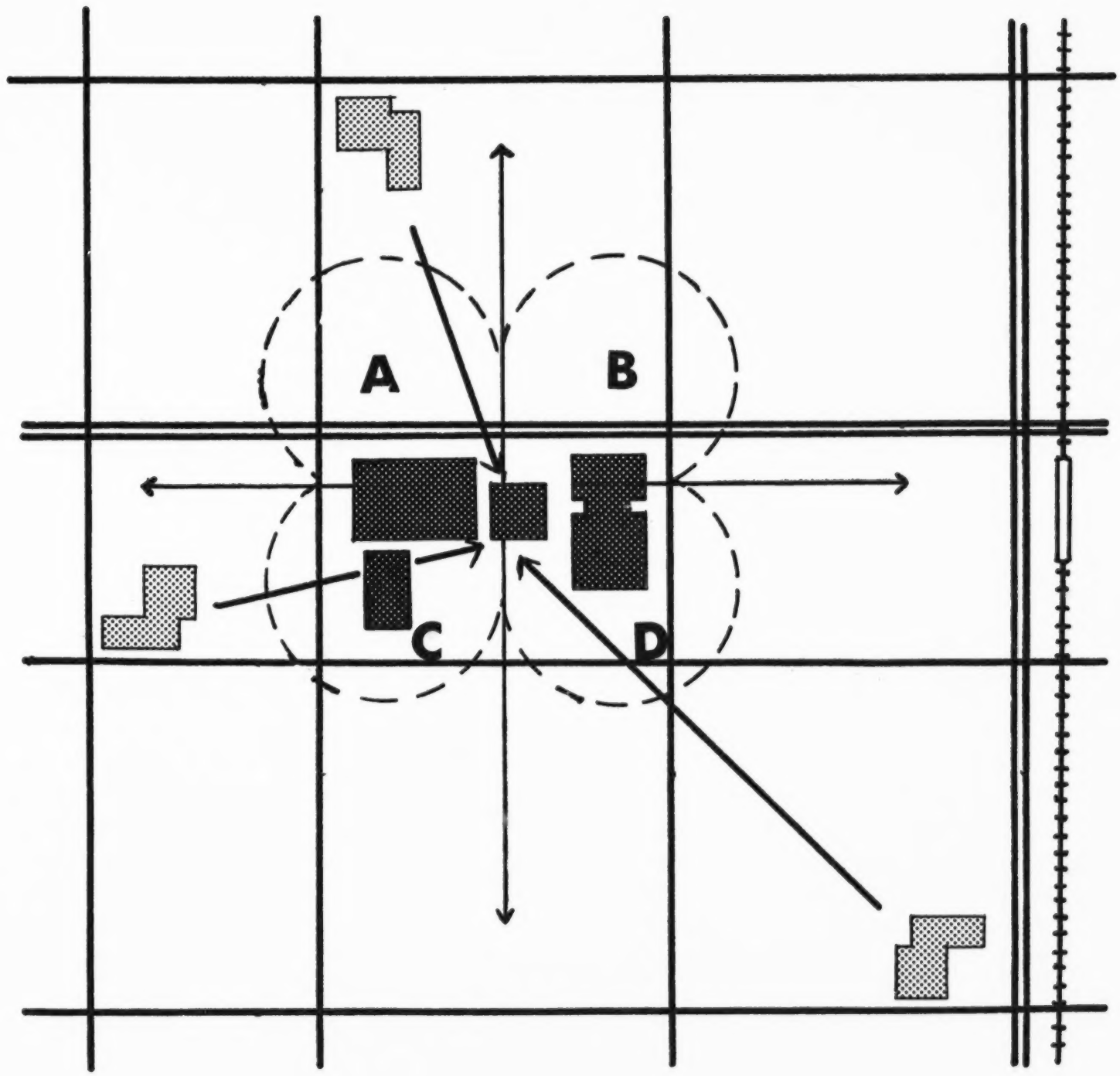
Expanded School Facilities
for an Educational Park

Park and Greenway

Rapid Transportation

Plate VII: EDUCATIONAL PARK ON COMMERCIALLY REDEVELOPED SITE

Educational Park As A Focal Point of Community Development - The location and design of educational parks can have a significant implication for the redevelopment of various communities. Decisions on location of the educational parks should maximize opportunities for neighborhood redevelopment. The educational park can serve as a social and physical focal point for communities by virtue of its large size and important functions (cf., Plate VIII). New service facilities can be attracted to the area to provide for the educational park and the neighborhood. Housing units can be developed as a result of increased transportation access to the educational park, personnel who might be interested in living nearby and a renewed and possible unique neighborhood spirit developed on the part of homeowners.



Existing School Facilities

Expanded School Facilities for an Educational Park

Expressway

Rapid Transportation

A Residential

B Business

C Institutional

D Residential

Plate VIII: EDUCATIONAL PARK AS FOCAL POINT OF COMMUNITY REDEVELOPMENT

Auxiliary Benefits of Educational Parks

Decisions on the organizational design of the educational parks likewise should provide opportunities for neighborhood redevelopment and services. The design of the educational park should stress noneducational services as important supplementary units to the facility. Health services, for example, can be provided for the school children. Because of their accessible location to transportation, health services could also be within close proximity to most of the people in any part of the city with an educational park. Other services, such as expanded and efficient libraries, social service units, governmental agencies and even possibly some commercial facilities can, for the first time, be provided within easy reach of Chicago's citizens in the local area.

As much as possible, educational parks should be developed as an essential aspect of overall city and regional development. Cooperative efforts are necessary between the Chicago Board of Education, the Chicago Department of Development and Planning, and the Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission.

Summary

The conceptual emphasis of the previous designs has indicated that Chicago can proceed with educational parks and still utilize existing school facilities. Each of the designs for educational parks in some respect overlaps the other. Individual educational parks could combine some or all of the features in the designs discussed above. None of the designs are intended to be final. The designs are still in the conceptual stage. Through increased community dialogue and consultation with experts in education and city planning, further clarifications will be both desired and expected.

RECOMMENDATIONS

First, community involvement should be incorporated as an essential aspect of all future educational planning.

Second, the Chicago Board of Education should undertake immediate action for the development of a city-wide plan for educational parks. This present study can serve as a feasibility plan which clearly indicates the possibilities and opportunities for educational parks in Chicago. To summarize, the basic design elements recommended in the body of this report were: (a) use of the pyramid organization of educational parks with minor variations where necessary (b) use of the Radial Corridor Concept as the fundamental guide for location of educational parks and (c) extensive use of phasing which involves a simultaneous administrative organization of the various functions in an educational park and a physical relating of new and existing facilities with land-usages and the transportation system. (The specific steps for a plan of development are outlined in Appendix I.)

Third, sites large enough, located in convenient areas and conducive to integration should be found. Existing facilities should be studied with an eye toward possible extension into educational parks. Such existing facilities will be appropriate only if they, in an expanded form, can meet the planning objectives mentioned in this report (for possible advantageous types of sites, cf., Appendix II).

Fourth, sources of finance for general educational purposes and for construction use need to be examined. All sources of federal, state and local funds and the best ways of spending such funds should receive the immediate attention of both educational and political leaders.

Fifth, those aspects of the educational park concept which can be tested in existing facilities should be instituted in preparation for future needs. Teacher Resource Centers, the "school within a school" concept, the use of teacher aides in the classroom, and computer-based learning can make large contributions both to existing programs and to the needs of the future.

Sixth, to achieve a feasible standard of class heterogeneity and integration in Chicago, at least 32 educational parks would either have to be built or a large number of existing facilities expanded between 1967 and 1968. Thirty-two or thirty-three educational parks is based upon a projected population enrollment of 20,000 students in each educational park. This would accommodate the expected total school population of over 650,000 by 1980. The acreage would depend upon the architectural style of each plant. It is estimated that educational parks could be developed on sites throughout the city varying from 50-100 acres. This estimate includes the possibility of using existing facilities and phasing them with newly constructed facilities into an educational park.

APPENDIX I

Suggested Procedure for Development of a City-Wide System of Educational Parks

1. This present study should serve as the basis for a more complete feasibility plan (completion time--6 months).

2. Public hearings should be held on the educational park concept.

3. The Board of Education should consider educational parks and not approve any building plans which run counter to this concept.

4. Capital appropriations should be made for site acquisition, development, and planning.

5. Long-term bonding and new forms of financing should be secured.

6. Architectual drawings and site selections should be evaluated by joint Board, staff and community committees.

7. A phasing of existing schools and new facilities into educational park complexes should be started.

APPENDIX II

Possible Sites in Chicago

a. Connected to the existing and proposed junior college system.

b. Connected to the University of Illinois.

c. Focal points of urban redevelopment.

d. Vacant and cleared sites of 50-100 acres.

e. Connected to existing recreational parks.

f. Use of air-rights--such as the proposal over I.C. tracks or over existing and proposed expressways.

g. Extension of existing school facilities.

h. Navy Pier

APPENDIX III

Fiscal Aspects of School Construction

While a costing-out of a Chicago-wide system of educational parks will be necessary in the future, it is roughly estimated that the total cost will run between a billion and a billion and a half dollars at current prices. A central feature of the designs proposed in this report is the use of existing school facilities in a phased development of educational parks. The most efficient use of these facilities could lower the overall cost of development. With the expectation that the completion of new park construction and phasing will take approximately fifteen years, the maximum costs would be one hundred million dollars per year.

This estimate should be compared with the costs of three-quarters of a billion dollars proposed in A Long Range Facilities Program, 1967-1971. Implementation of this plan thus would cost one hundred and fifty million dollars a year for five years. It would only keep up with the expansion in school population and replace and rehabilitate the most outmoded facilities. Moreover, replacement of existing facilities and further population pressures would necessitate additional expenditures soon after completion of the building plan construction.

In a comprehensive analysis of school construction needs, the Syracuse, New York Board of Education compared the cost of replacement of neighborhood, schools with the building of an entirely new system of educational parks. They found that the cost of educational parks would be slightly less than that necessary for a replacement program.[1]

APPENDIX IV

The advantages claimed for educational parks is summarized from a report by the Board of Education of New York City.[2]

1. Organizational Advantages.
2. Maximum Opportunity for Decentralization.
3. Greater Opportunity for Division of Labor and Consequently More Efficient Service to Children.
4. Greater Opportunity for Educational Innovations and Consequent Benefits.
5. Equalization of Conditions.
6. Opportunity for Special Facilities.

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[1] Further information is contained in The Campus Plan. It is available from the Syracuse Campus Site Planning Center, Syracuse City School District, 409 W. Genesee Street, Syracuse, New York 13202.

[2] Board of Education of New York City, The Educational Park in New York City (1965).

APPENDIX IV (Cont.)

7. Economy.

8. High Quality Integrated Education.

9. Greater Community Understanding and Participation.

APPENDIX V

Cities Actively Discussing or Developing Educational Parks[3]

Albuquerque, New Mexico
Anniston, Alabama
Atlanta, Georgia
Baltimore, Maryland
Berkeley, California
Bridgeport, Connecticut
Buffalo, New York
Camden, New Jersey
Cleveland, Ohio
Denver, Colorado
East Orange, New Jersey
Erie, Pennsylvania
Evanston, Illinois
Fort Lauderdale, Florida
Grand Rapids, Michigan
Hartford, Connecticut
Indianapolis, Indiana
Lansing, Michigan
Little Rock, Arkansas
Miami, Florida
Minneapolis, Minnesota
New York, New York
Norfolk, Virginia
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Pasadena, California
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Rochester, New York
Rockford, Illinois
Sacramento, California
St. Paul, Minnesota
San Antonio, Texas
San Francisco, California
San Jose, California
Seattle, Washington
Syracuse, New York
Toledo, Ohio
Washington, D. C.
Waterbury, Connecticut
Worcester, Massachusetts

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[3] Max Wolff, Educational Park Development in the United States, 1967, (New York. Center for Urban Education, August, 1967).